

The Industrial Union Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

"LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES"

Vol. I. No. 40.

CHICAGO, NOVEMBER 30, 1907.

50c. a Year.

The Value of Stenographic Reports in Labor Conventions

Prepared Especially for the Benefit of Montana Lumbermen

By FRED W. HESLEWOOD

That the lumber workers of Montana have been deceived is evident by the wording of the call for the convention at Missoula, Mont., on October 21, 1907.

The first clause of the call, which is signed by James Tallon and Julius Bernard, would lead the workers to believe that it is necessary to form a lumbermen's union in the state of Montana to belong to the Montana State Union and the Western Federation of Miners. If that is the idea prevalent among them, they have been entirely deceived, as there was never any objection by the Industrial Workers of the World to the local of belonging to a state union. The proof of that assertion is that the locals of the I. W. W. at the present time in British Columbia meet with the miners by sending delegates to the annual district convention. Furthermore, there was no power that could keep I. W. W. delegates out of the Montana State Union for the payment of the same fee as W. F. of M. locals. Delegate Shannon of Butte No. 1, and president of the Montana State Union, brought the matter before the last W. F. of M. convention and spoke in favor of giving I. W. W. direct charters locals the same privileges as W. F. of M. locals. For the benefit of those who have no stenographic report for reference I will quote from page 900:

"Joe Shannon, No. 1: I would state, Mr. Chairman and brother delegates, that the intention in bringing in that amendment to the by-laws is that there are several unions in Montana who are affiliated directly with the Industrial Workers of the World, and who also, to a certain extent, have a bearing on the W. F. of M. union. It is our desire to call a convention that can also send delegates to that convention. This is the latest and best part of that amendment. Because, according to the clause in the by-laws there, it says that no one shall be eligible as a delegate to the state union unless the union he represents has a charter from the W. F. of M. Now, if we want to build a fence round ourselves; we want to have local unions affiliated directly with the Industrial Workers of the World to have a voice or vote with us.

"H. D. Mitchell, No. 8: I would like to call attention to the fact that in District No. 4 this amendment to the by-laws is already in operation, as that district has taken in all local unions of the Industrial Workers of the World in British Columbia into their district councils, and they meet with them in the district convention just the same as locals of the Western Federation of Miners. So that is one district where it works to very good effect. It should not apply to all districts in the Federation.

"Chairman Davidson: The report is that we do not concur in this resolution. The resolution itself will be read.

"Secretary Smelter: This is to be put at the end of Section I of the by-laws:

"Any local of the Industrial Workers of the World, or of such district unions, the recommendation of the committee on by-laws is that we do not concur in the resolution.

"Joe Shannon, No. 1: I move that we strike out the word 'not' and insert the word 'do'.

"Chairman Davidson: There is no motion before the convention.

"Ed. O'Brien, No. 1: I move that we do not concur in the report of the committee, and advise our delegates to that effect. The motion was duly seconded, put by the chair and declared carried.

This action of the convention gives the lumbermen of Montana the same rights and privileges as locals of the W. F. of M. The first clause of the lumbermen's call states that "We will form a united lumbermen's organization affiliated with the Western Federation of Miners, until such time as through the Western Federation of Miners we become a part of the proposed industrial movement, or we will be chartered direct from the Western Federation of Miners' headquarters at Denver, Col." Now, so far as the proposed industrial movement is concerned that you wish to join I may say that that scheme has fizzled out. The proposed convention was to have been held on October 1st, but there was nothing doing. It was impossible to get delegates enough at the Denver convention to attend it. Fourteen delegates and alternates were required, but after thirty men had been nominated only six could be secured who wished a free trip to the city of Chicago and \$5.00 a day for the purpose of forming a new industrial union. It is the first time in the history of the labor movement that men who have to work in mines or smelters for \$4.00, and many of them for less, did not want a free trip and \$5.00 a day. Had the proposed convention been a logical bonafide proposition, thirty men would have been willing to tear down the Industrial Workers of the World, that new exists, any honest wage-earner would have been glad to have taken the trip and there would have been no declination. To prove my assertion I quote from page 870 of the W. F. of M. stenographic report:

"Acting President Mahoney: According to the action you have taken, you are to elect a delegate, and if there is no objection on the part of any delegate, the chair will call for them to be elected open at this time.

"J. Lowrey, No. 1: Mr. President, I am in nomination to help along the

In nominating Delegate Barnhouse, of Missouri:

"Dan Barnhouse, No. 230: I decline.

"J. H. Bottomly, No. 16: I nominate Brother Torrey, No. 1: I decline.

"Mike Torrey, No. 1: I decline.

"M. P. Mahoney, No. 1: I place Brother M. P. Mahoney in nomination.

"Harry Tigerman: I nominate John C. Lowrey.

"T. S. Marshall, No. 121: I nominate Jay Pollard.

"Harry Tigerman: I nominate J. E. Colgan.

"J. T. Lewis, No. 121: I nominate P. W. Gallentine, of No. 60.

"J. T. Lewis, No. 121: I respectfully decline.

"John McMillan, No. 83: I nominate Brother Vincent St. John.

"R. D. Mitchell, No. 8: I nominate Brother Monroe Stephens.

"Monroe Stephens, No. 53: I beg to decline.

"W. T. Stodden, No. 83: I nominate Brother Cummings of No. 74.

"J. T. Lewis, No. 121: Mr. President, as I have been watching the delegation from No. 83, I think that it should be a little careful and wish to decline.

"Charles R. Winters: I decline.

"R. D. Mitchell, No. 8: I nominate Brother Monroe Stephens.

"Monroe Stephens, No. 53: I beg to decline.

"W. T. Stodden, No. 83: I nominate Brother Cummings of No. 74.

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Voluntary Contributions

N. Sprinchorn, New York...	50
John Farrell, Lowell Mass...	1.00
Bohemian Socialist Club, Lynn, Mass...	80
T. McDermott, San Francisco...	5.00
E. Petritz, Buffalo, N. Y...	1.00
C. Ball, Buffalo, N. Y...	50
T. W. Delaney, Buffalo, N. Y...	1.00
F. Replager, Buffalo, N. Y...	50
M. Ershlag, Buffalo, N. Y...	50
Louis Boda, Buffalo, N. Y...	50
Mr. Shimer, Buffalo, N. Y...	25
A. Erdeli, Buffalo, N. Y...	50
Mr. Fodor, Buffalo, N. Y...	25
A. Szwajner, Buffalo, N. Y...	1.00
J. Wild, Buffalo, N. Y...	1.00
Mr. Boritz, Buffalo, N. Y...	.05
Mr. Dornitz, Buffalo, N. Y...	.10
Jos. Koncsek, Buffalo, N. Y...	.10
Mr. Tukarm, Buffalo, N. Y...	.10
Patton, Pa. No. 372...	4.50
L. Elmgren, Jerome, Ariz...	1.00
Total	\$ 19.90
Previously acknowledged...	1,015.86
Total to date	\$1,035.86

In Memory of Thos. Glaze

The following resolutions, adopted by Local Union No. 270, Houston, Texas, have been forwarded for publication:

"Whereas, our chairman and fellow worker, Thomas Glaze, met with a fatal accident on Sept. 22nd last, while at work as a switchman, and died shortly after; be it

"Resolved, That by the death of Fellow Worker Thos. Glaze our local has lost one of its best and truest members, and be it further

"Resolved, That our secretary be ordered to spread a copy of these resolutions on the minutes of this local and to have same published in the Industrial Union Bulletin.

O. W. Nelson,
Theo. Newman,
Committee.

The Situation at Bridgeport

We deem it our duty to send a few lines on the situation here in Bridgeport. We would have done so ere this if there had been anything bright or promising in our local affairs that we could have reported on; but now we are taking a decided turn for the better.

Mixed Local No. 266 (Italian) is doing nicely, and it is expected that they will become a factor among the Italian wage workers.

Branch I (Hungarian) of Local 113 is nearly dead and gone, on account of a misled and mismanaged strike. A small number of revolutionists, however, keep the colors floating and hope that they can rally these forces again in the near future.

Branch II (English) of Local No. 113 has lost considerable in membership, but gained in solidarity and clearness of purpose. Reaction was forced to go way back and sit down, while the progressive element is now settling down to business.

Comrade Thompson, organizer for the New England States, is with us. He reorganized Branch II, helped us to formulate by-laws, and has done a great deal in straightening out the tangle and differences in that branch.

A number of successful shop meetings during noon hour and open air meetings at the street corners, as well as indoor meetings, were held, at which Com. Thompson in a forceful and convincing way explained the position and principles of the I. W. W. He also sold pamphlets on Industrial Unionism and took subscriptions to The Bulletin.

Comrade Thompson came at a very opportune time in regard to our struggles over internal matters; but in regard to building up our organization, we are in a most favorable position.

In the first place we were not notified in time of his coming; in the second place he came just when we were moving into new headquarters, and busy getting our new hall into shape; and in the third place, the present industrial crisis has had the effect on the working class to prevent them from joining anything where they have to pay, since the bare necessities of life are beyond their reach just now. Nevertheless, the organizer's work is not lost. It will bring the desired results afterwards. He uses the present "shortage of money" to drive the lesson home to his audiences, and he knows how to do it, too.

We hope and wish that the New England States will see to it that Com. Thompson is kept in the field, for he is the first I. W. W. organizer who has filled the bill here in Bridgeport, and we are confident that the fellow workers in other localities will share our views after they have heard him.

In regard to our new headquarters, we wish to say that they are just half in conjunction with three other revolutionary societies, and if we can keep our new headquarters up during the winter we will be secure for the future in maintaining the hall.

Hopeful and expecting that Industrial Unionism will get a firm footing in Bridgeport in the near future, we will close our report.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,
Press Com.

Bridgeport, Conn.

Brewery Worker's Second Letter

To The Industrial Union Bulletin:

The International Union of United Brewery Workers has been reinstated in the American Federation of Labor. As predicted in a letter from a "Brewery Worker" in the columns of your paper, a national officer of that organization, Mr. Louis Kemper, had to repudiate that so-called "January convention" called by Mahoney and Company on the floor of the convention of the blind fanatics followers would be invited.

"We understand from Mr. John Walker, of the United Mine Workers, that the same conditions on promise of participation were demanded by that organization.

"Now, you understand that the United Brewery Workers cannot be a participant in any convention which is to set on foot a rival organization to the American Federation of Labor. We stated already that it is our firm belief that we can accomplish more for industrial unionism, as we understand it, by working for its adoption from within and strengthening the forces that would co-operate with us on that issue in the A. F. of L.

"We believe the Western Federation of Miners would be welcome with open arms into the American Federation of Labor. Yes, we know that overtures to that end will be made. Your organization, by becoming part and parcel of the American Federation of Labor, would materially strengthen the agitation for industrial unionism, and you would be able to draw into that body all scattered unions in the west, and thus help to establish the unity and solidarity of the class of bread winners, and in defeating the plans of such people as Trautmann and his few supporters.

"We believe the Western Federation of Miners will not hesitate to become affiliated with the A. F. of L. If the co-operation between such powerful organizations as the United Mine Workers, the United Brewery Workers, your organization, as primarily suggested by you, can be established, the for such purpose would be desirable, and we can assure you that the United Brewery Workers will send delegates, and prevent also upon the executive council of the American Federation of Labor to have a representative at that gathering.

"Our friend, John Walker of Illinois, who thinks much of you and your executive body, has assured us that the District Union of United Mine Workers of Illinois would also be represented. John deeply regrets his mistake in moving the expulsion of Robert Randall at the convention of the American Federation of Labor, for "exposing John Mitchell." Walker thought Randall was one of these vicious "DeLeon" men, but has learned since that he is a sane and conservative fellow, and would like to have an opportunity to square himself with Randall; we know Randall is a member of your executive body, and he will likely have a chance to be at the next convention.

"Should these plans meet with your approval and of your executive board, we will immediately prepare for the election of delegates and also inform the executive council of the American Federation of Labor of the good prospects of uniting the western miners with the only bona fide trade union movement in the United States and Canada!

But let us have understood that the Trautmann-DeLeon element should be kept away. They are dangerous and are able to spoil our harmony plans and mar our pleasure in having consummate unity between the Western Federation of Miners and the American Federation of Labor.

"We can assure you of our sincerity in the declaration to establish an unbreakable bond of true friendship with your organization, when we suggested through our deceased editor of the Brewer Zeitung, when he had a conference with you last spring while in Denver, that your organization should use its connection with the I. W. W. to remove forever those chronic disturbers like Trautmann as a provision for the consummation of our plans; and we are specially sincere when we say that your organization and all those who will participate in that proposed convention will be gladly taken into the American Federation of Labor, providing the promises as regards the Trautmann followers are kept by you and your colleagues. We would not be able to maintain our friendly relations with the emulating brewers; we would not dare even to co-operate with them in the crusade against any further temperance legislation.

"Every member of the International Executive Board of the United Brewery Workers, and we believe the majority of the members, too, have seen the necessity of changing our tactics, and our attitude towards the American Federation of Labor. We believe now that the greatest amount of good will be done for the workers of America by bringing into that grand organization the A. F. of L. all those who stand outside its folds. The best proof has been given in the acts of the Norfolk convention at the American Federation of Labor is gradually adopting the industrial form of organization, and is assimilating itself quickly to the changed conditions.

"If we can prevail upon all who believe and advocate the industrial form of organization to become a part of the American Federation of Labor, we will soon commit that body to straight-forward industrial unionism, and that's all we care for.

"On September 14th, 1907, we asked you to postpone action on the plan of convoking a convention for the purpose of launching a new organization com-

mitted to industrial unionism. In that letter we conveyed the wishes of our International Executive Board that no association of workers with which W. E. Trautmann, former editor of our official organ, the Brewer Zeitung, the Dan. DeLeon are connected should be invited to participate in that convention. We received your assurance on September 22d that neither of the two or their blind fanatics followers would be invited.

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CHICAGO, NOVEMBER 30, 1907

To the establishment of the workers' republic, or the Co-operation Commonwealth, no consideration will be as important as the self-imposed discipline of the Industrial Union. On that day when the workers are called upon to assume charge of the mine, the factory, the railway, the means of production and the capitalist mode of production for profit by the Social mode of production for use, there will come to them the task which they alone will be competent to meet. On that day the workers will face the consummation of their ideals and the readjustment of industry in accordance with revolutionary requirements for which the Industrial organization has prepared them. Upon them will depend the one socially important task of continuing the process of production and the maintenance of the discipline in all departments which will be necessary to the most effective results.

UP-TO-DATE TELEGRAPH SERVICE

The strike of the telegraph operators has taught the companies, the operators and the general public a lesson that neither are likely soon to forget. It brought out the fact that the telegraph, as such, is not as essential a means of general communication as all the parties interested had supposed. It has clearly demonstrated that the telegraph can be dispensed with almost altogether, in the transaction of a large amount of business, without loss to those who had previously been habitual users of the electric wire. It has proven the practical value of machines in the transmission of intelligence and their adoption threatens very materially to reduce the number of operators required by the companies to conduct the business.

Although weeks have passed since the strike was "suspended," the operators have not all been put back to work, for the reason that there is no work for them. And the future holds no encouragement for them. There will never again be as many men gaining a living as telegraph operators as in the past. Their services are no longer required. Their occupation is gone. The companies have discovered a satisfactory means of delivering messages by telephone and the mail. An illustration of the new system of conducting the telegraph business came under our notice the other day. The Western Union had received a message for the general secretary of the I. W. W. The company, instead of delivering the message as formerly, called up this office by phone and proceeded to give the particulars contained in the message. In vain we protested against that method of doing business; we simply had to take the word of some unknown person, claiming to represent the Western Union Company, as to its contents and genuineness. Incidentally, it should be noted that the method makes it possible for anyone to be imposed upon and suffer loss through the delivery of a message by telephone.

The companies are today employing a little over one-half the operators employed before the strike; they are using the machine and transmitting telegrams by telephone or mail as suits their convenience. And this is an example of the idiosyncrasy which Americans must perform under the rule of trusts and trust politicians.

SCHEMING OF JOB-HOLDERS

To illustrate the work of a crook in the labor movement, we print below an extract from a letter (the full text of which is in our possession) written by W. J. F. Henneman, on Oct. 1, 1907, to John Stine, of Boston, Mass.

"The proposition to hold the October 1st convention was carried by a large majority of the referendum vote taken on same by the rank and file of the Mining Department of the I. W. W. M. and, upon request of several labor organizations, including the United Brewery Workers, WHO DESIRE TO ELECT DELEGATES BY A REFERENDUM VOTE of their new membership, it has been found necessary to postpone the convention for about two months."

The capital is ours and are used to mail a liar. No referendum on the subject of the illusive conference or convention which a combination of reactionaries tried to pull off October 1st, has been taken by the Brewery Workers; no referendum could be taken by them touching any conference to be held "about two months" from October 1st; no referendum has been submitted to the rank and file of the Brewery Workers for a vote on the subject of a conference at any time.

What has happened is this: Some office-holding members of the United Brewery Workers have been anxious to bring about a condition that would result in putting the W. F. M. in line with the A. F. of L. The real I. W. W. has been used as a club to force the restoration of the charter by the A. F. of L. to the brewers, and this has been accomplished. Now the job-holders in the brewers' organization, which has been fully reinstated in the A. F. of L., will, acting on the suggestion that has been made to them, endeavor to hold a conference with the W. F. M. for the specific purpose, not of promoting Industrial Unionism, but of getting the W. F. M. into the A. F. of L. to perpetuate in power those who, with an appearance of friendliness have been hostile to the I. W. W. since January 4, 1906.

We warn the rank and file of the United Brewers and the "several labor organizations" not to be made the victims of a job, the only object of which is to perpetuate craft unionism and destroy the Industrial Workers of the World, which, however, the reactionary devotees to working class interests will never be able to compass, no matter what dishonest schemes they may resort to.

A REPLY, BUT NO ANSWER

Samuel Gompers has no reply to the charges against him, and referred to in previous issues of The Bulletin, but he has not answered them. He chose the closing hours of the A. F. of L. convention at Norfolk, Va., to the support of his associates, to make a demonstration intended as an "answer" to the charges, and among those who "cheered the loudest," says the Norfolk "Virginia-Pilot" of November 21st, "the Socialists were in the lead." Gompers, speaking for himself and the executive council of the A. F. of L., said:

"All that I now have to add is that there is not a scintilla of truth in anything published or which can be published by the National Association of Manufacturers or their hirelings which can in any way reflect upon the integrity, the morality, or the honesty of myself, and I have the abiding faith they cannot do so of any member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor."

Whereupon, says the "Virginia Pilot": "It is impossible to imagine the surprise which was created when Mr. Berger jumped to his feet, as soon as his voice could be heard, and declared that while he had always opposed Mr. Gompers in the past, he would give his word that he would never voice opposition to him again, but would rather add his vote toward making Mr. Gompers' election unanimous."

After Gompers got through resolutions were adopted expressing confidence in him and the executive council, and he was presented with a basket of flowers.

That was the "answer" of Mr. Gompers and the convention of delegates, among the latter being the Socialists, Berger and Barnes, to charges that should have been met at the time they were made. The "answer" absolutely leaves untouched the charges that he has been getting his private commissions on the great amount of printing given out by the A. F. of L., with being in various partnerships for the issuing of official labor publications, with being interested in schemes whereby enormous commissions are paid out to advertising agents for the American Federationist, with selling printing privileges in connection with souvenirs that were formerly gotten out and putting the money in his pocket, and being concerned in debaucheries and orgies and scandals.

As to the last named count, it is passing strange that Mr. Berger, whose man can charge with being concerned in "debaucheries and orgies," and whose private life is, in the belief of the writer, clean and unassailable, should now be solicited over "debaucheries and orgies," which concern Mr. Gompers and other officials of the A. F. of L., for Berger has himself written about these very incidents in the career of Mr. Gompers and his associates, and this too, after being an eye-witness to part of what was going on at the annual gathering—particularly at New Orleans and Boston. Berger knows that there have been "debaucheries and orgies," in which Gompers was "concerned," the details of which are unprintable, and yet he, according to report, pledges himself to Gompers' support and moves to make the latter's re-election unanimous!

Turning from the Norfolk spectacle, we ask, as he had to be paid to what Broughton Brandenburg says in this convention? Listen to him:

"I started out," Brandenburg says, "to write a series of sketches about great Americans of today. I thought that Gompers was a great man. The more I went into his real life the more amazed I was at what I found to be true. I saw that a story of what President Gompers and four or five of the other men who are running the American Federation really are, would be a sensation one hundred times better than the story I had begun on."

"Gompers soon found out that I was gathering evidence about him. He had known me in connection with the National Institute of Immigration. We had

Kunkle in Self Defense

There was published in the issue of The Bulletin for October 19th, notice of the expulsion from Local Union No. 106, Monaca, Pa., of Geo. Kunkle. The notice came in regular form from the secretary of the local, C. J. McCarthy, with the seal attached. Kunkle, in a communication to the editor, declares that the resolution adopted by the local was malicious and that his expulsion was an outrage. He submits the following sworn statement and asks for its publication in The Bulletin and agrees to deposit a bond covering the expense of an investigation by an impartial committee, if those making the charges against him will do the same:

"First—I never applied for admission to the Mixed Local, I applied to the general organization as a charter member; my name being one of the first on the list."

"Second—I promised to abdicate my office as secretary in the American Flint Glass Workers' Union as soon as my term of office expired. But I did not do so. I faithfully did. The resolution states the opposite."

"Third—I never said by word, deed or action, anything derogatory, or detrimental to the interests of the I. W. W. My actions both orally and literally have been strictly in accordance with the spirit of Industrial Unionism. The resolution states the opposite."

"Fourth—I did not act as chairman at any time, for the Steel Workers Industrial Local No. 101, as I am not a member of that local. But I did go to the S. P. hall on that date and have the Socialists vacate and call their regular meeting off, in order to allow the Steel Workers Industrial Local a place to meet. The resolution states the opposite. I did not act as chairman of the Steel Workers Industrial Local a "fake."

"Fifth—I did speak and vote for the consolidation of these two locals and would do so again, under similar circumstances."

"Sixth—as a personal favor and life long friend of Fellow Worker Moffett, treasurer of the Steel Workers' Industrial Union, No. 101, copy a letter for him on my typewriter, in which he demanded the return of the steel workers' books, seal, etc., to the mixed local, and would do so again if the occasion should occur."

"Sworn to before me, a Notary Public, this 19th day of November, 1907."

"N. Wurgel, Jr."

"My commission expires, June 15, 1910."

"Geo. Kunkle."

"Where Haywood Stands"

The "Nevada Workman" brings us the following illuminating paragraph showing where Wm. D. Haywood stands:

"Both the friends and enemies of industrial unionism are interested to learn that Haywood has lost none of his belief in that form of class organization. His conception of the mission of the industrial union coincides almost exactly with that consistently expressed by the Workman. That conception transcends the notions of the quasi industrialists who see in the new movement merely the backbone of a political party, or the convenient action of an importunate agency. Haywood sees in the industrial union of all the wage-workers the germ of the future society. He sees what the handwriting on the wall proclaims, that the government of the future will be industrial in its nature. He knows that the fall of capitalism will involve all the institutions of capitalism; and that because the ruins of a system which has served its day shall arise the superstructure of the Cooperative Commonwealth."

From a volume entitled "Social Progress, an International Year Book," we learn that during the year 1904, out of 106,734 brakemen employed on the railroads of the United States, 3,632 were killed. By way of comparison it is recorded in the same book that during the same year there were 8,482 murders and homicides committed in this country, for which crimes 116 persons were executed. In other words, one brakeman in about thirty met his death in that year, and one murderer in about seventy-three. From which it appears that the brakeman's occupation is about twice as dangerous as the murderer's.

If workmen are dissatisfied with being out of a job, with being compelled to take the banker's and business man's money, with being refused the savings they have put into the banks, there is one way for them to act, and that is to organize for the purpose of overthrowing the system. Get the literature of Industrial Unionism and learn how it can be done.

Local Redlands, (Cal.) of the Socialist party has adopted resolutions favoring a national referendum for the union of the two existing Socialist parties, based on the recognition of Industrial Unionism as the economic basis of the Socialist political movement."

met on the platform at Madison Square Garden. On September 29 he came to see me at the Hotel Victoria, where I was then living. He said he knew I was valuable to certain interests, but that I could be more valuable to other interests. I asked him if he meant himself and his associates, and he said "yes." I told him that I had often refused offers of money under the same circumstances. I understood that he would consider a counter proposition from me to send to a magazine. I had heard that when Gompers was sick in 1895 at Hot Springs, Ark., he thought that he was dying and made some confessions as to his relations with labor. I think he knew I was going South to get material about that. While I was away several letters passed between us with relation to his future attitude toward other members of the labor federation clique.

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ECONOMIC DETERMINISM

How Social Institutions Came Into Existence Through Changing Methods of Production

FROM THE PAST TO THE FUTURE

BY WORD H. MILLS

CHAPTER THREE

The first step in the organization of primitive society was the Consanguine Family, which consisted in the exclusion of parents and children from sexual relationship. The second was the erection of a barrier between brother and sister, and later between the marriage of blood relatives. It was discovered that the tribes that limited in-breeding in the family developed more rapidly and more completely than those that retained marriage between brothers and sisters as a rule and a law. The principle of natural selection began to operate.

Consanguine sex relations were abolished, and as the conception of the propriety of sex relations between children of the same mother arose it naturally became effective in the division of the old and the foundation of new household communities.

Every primitive family was under the necessity of dividing after a few generations, each becoming a communistic social group or collective household.

One or more sisters became the center of one group, their natural brothers that of another. And this was the beginning of the institution of the gens. The gens is the foundation of the social order of most, if not all, barbarian nations, and in Greece and Rome we step immediately from it to civilization.

As an intermediary between the Consanguine Family and the Pairing Family, with the rise of the gens there came into existence what Morgan styles the Punaluan family, developed from the Consanguine Family. The classical form of the Punaluan family in its fundamental characteristic consisted in a mutual community of husbands and wives within a given family with the exclusion of the natural brothers (or sisters) first, and of the more remote grades of kinship later.

For example, a number of sisters and more remote degrees of kinship became the mutual wives of their mutual husbands, their natural brothers and more remote male kin excepted. In like manner a group of male relatives lived in mutual marriage with a number of women not their natural sisters.

In all forms of the group family the paternity of the child is uncertain, but the mother is always known. But it should be understood that while in the family group each mother knows her own natural children, she calls all the children of the aggregate of her husband and his brothers as her children towards them. Hence, to quote from Engels, in describing the Punaluan form of family: "The children of the sisters of my mother are still her children, like-wise the children of her brothers, if her father is still her children; and all of them are my brothers and sisters. But the children of the brothers of my mother are now her nephews and nieces, the children of the sisters of my father, his nephews and nieces, and they are all my cousins. For, while the husbands of the sisters of my mother are still her husbands, and likewise the wives of the brothers of my father still her brothers, if not the legal if not the social prohibition of sexual intercourse between brothers and sisters has now divided those relatives who formerly were regarded without distinction as brothers and sisters, into two classes. In one category are those who remain (more remote) brothers and sisters as before; in the other the children of the brother on one hand or the sister on the other, who can be brothers and sisters no longer. The latter have mutual parents no more, neither father nor mother nor both together. And for this reason the class of nephews and nieces, male and female cousins, here becomes necessary for the first time."

Inasmuch as in all forms of the group family it is uncertain who is the father of the child, while the mother is always known, descent can be traced only on the mother's side, hence female lineage is acknowledged. Bachofen designates this exclusive recognition of descent from the female line and the hereditary relations resulting from it in the time of "maternal law," the matriarchy.

Taking one of the two groups constituting the Punaluan family, either the male group of blood relatives, or the female group as heretofore described, we have the original form of the gens, each group having a common ancestor by virtue of the descent that makes the different female generations sisters. But the husbands of these sisters cannot be chosen among their brothers any longer, can no longer come from the same ancestress, and do not, therefore, belong to the consanguineous group of relatives, the gens of a later time. The children of the female group do, however, belong to this group, because descent from the female line alone is conclusive and positive.

As soon as the prohibition of sexual intercourse between relatives on the mother's side, even to the most remote degree, is accomplished, the group becomes a gens; that is to say, it constitutes a definite circle of consanguineous relatives of female lineage who are not permitted to marry one another.

From this time on this circle is more and more fortified by other mutual institutions of a later time. The children of the same tribe are thus distinguished from gentes of the same tribe.

In this connection the sage observation of Marx is pertinent and worthy of note, as follows: "There is no longer any doubt that the traces of unrestricted sexual intercourse, which Bachofen alleges to have found—called 'incestuous generation' by him—are traceable to group marriage. If Bachofen considers these traces as 'incestuous'—a man of that period would look upon most of our present marriages between near and remote cousins on the father's or mother's side as incestuous, being marriages between consanguineous relatives."

The subject of group marriage is an "Engels—'Origin of the Family.'"

direction of it must have been vested in the chief of the family. Whether this was by virtue of his privilege as the head of a communistic family or of his being a gentle chief by actual descent seems uncertain. But, it is known that on the threshold of documentary history the flocks were in the separate possession of chiefs of families in the same manner as were the productions of barbarian art such as metal ware, articles of luxury and finally human cattle—slaves.

To the barbarian of the lower stage a slave would have proved a useless encumbrance. Slavery came into existence after cannibalism had ceased, at the time when human labor power was enabled to produce wealth in excess of its cost of subsistence. Before that time vanquished enemies were slain and sometimes eaten, or were tortured, or in many instances adopted into the tribe of victors. The women of the vanquished were married or likewise adopted with their surviving children.

The introduction of cattle raising, metal industry, weaving and agriculture wrought a change. It became more profitable to put captives to work than to eat them; just the once easily obtainable wives now had an exchange value and were bought so labor power was now procured, especially as the flocks had become private property. The family did not multiply as rapidly as the cattle. More people were needed to take care of them; for this purpose the captured enemy was available, and besides he could be increased by breeding like the cattle.

Once these riches had become the private property of certain families, they were rapidly augmented, and gave a powerful impulse to society founded on the Pairing Family. The material gens, which forbids the marriage of relatives, the classes of "brothers" and "sisters" became more and more numerous. By the increasing restrictions of these marriage restrictions group marriage became more and more impossible, and in the Pairing family the group was reduced to its last unit, its biatomic molecule—one man, one woman. And, as Engels says, "At last only one couple temporarily and loosely united, remains; that molecule, the dissolution of which puts an end to marriage."

Our present-day understanding of the meaning of sexual love, as applied to the person in savagery had little to do with the origin of monogamy. The practice of all nations at that stage furnishes ample evidence of this. Bachofen was right in regarding the progress from group marriage to monogamy as mainly the work of women. Only the advance from the Pairing family to monogamy must be charged to the account of men. The latter must be accredited, first, to economic causes which will be considered at the proper place, and because this advance implied, historically, a deterioration in the position of women and a greater opportunity to the men to be faithful.

In the previous form of the family there were always enough women for the men. But the classic form of the Pairing family did not permit the man the latitude he enjoyed in the older days, and with the advent of the Pairing family began the abduction and barter of women.

In the latter case the agreement was usually made between the mothers of the principals. Either of the parties might dissolve the marriage at will. In case of domestic differences the gentle relatives of the sisters endeavored to bring about a reconciliation. If these failed to effect a reconciliation the two separated, but the woman kept the children.

The institution of the Pairing family did not do away with the communistic household and in the household the woman was supreme. The general notion that prevails nowadays that in the beginning of society woman was the slave of man is absurd. The women chose their husbands, and even during the time of the Pairing family the women were the dominating power in the gens. In the household provisions were held in common, but every husband or lover was required to contribute his share of the common supply. And no matter how many children he had or how much private property he might have in the house, unless he contributed to its common food supply as was his duty the domestic atmosphere was made too warm for him to remain, and he was obliged to gather up his belongings and find other quarters which included his wife and children.

The communistic household was usually comprised of the women belonging to one and the same gens; the husbands came from different gentes. This, together with the respect the savages gave to motherhood in primeval times, was the cause of the perduration of matriarchy. The Pairing family is the form of the family characteristic for barbarism, although it originated in the higher stage of savagery. It is related to barbarism as group marriage is to savagery and monogamy to civilization. In it the group was reduced to its last unit, the biatomic molecule. Nature's selection had accomplished its purpose and naught remained to be done in this direction. The result of the operation of the law of the gens was the production of a vigorous race physically and mentally, so that had not new forces become active the end was reached. There was no reason why a new form of the family should develop.

But the progress made in the institution of organized sex relationship as described was consonant with and determined by the constantly changing methods of producing a subsistence, particularly during the age of barbarism.

Up to the time of barbarism, consonant with the rise of the Pairing family, fixed wealth consisted in houses, clothing, ornaments and the tools for obtaining food. The preparation of weapons and household articles of the simplest kind. A new supply of food must be obtained each day.

But now the new forces became active. Hunting, fishing had ceased to be the normal occupation of the men. The increase in numbers and the yield of live stock required that the energies of the people should be devoted to the care of their increasing herds, and to the means of sustenance. All the former means of obtaining the necessities of life were forced into the background, and hunting, once a necessity, had become a sport.

The domestication of animals and the breeding of flocks had developed a hitherto unknown source of wealth and hence entirely new social conditions. The owner of this wealth must originally have been the gens. Later the chief of the family.

With best wishes and hoping to hear from you further on this matter, I remain

"Fraternally yours,
"C. E. Mahoney,
"Acting President W. F. M."

In reply to the above General Executive Board Member Heselwood of the I. W. U. has addressed the following open letter to Mr. Mahoney: "Kallispell, Mont., Nov. 20, 1907."

"Dear Sir and Brother: My object in writing to you at

this time is to try and get some enlightenment in connection with the lumber workers' organization in Montana, as I would judge by the reading of your letter to John Stine, financial secretary of Somers local, that you know what you are talking about.

You state to him in your letter that the actions of Brother Shannon in organizing an Independent Montana Lumbermen's union was satisfactory to the Western Federation. Would you be so kind as to let me know through the columns of the Miners' magazine, just what part of the Western Federation was satisfied with the actions of Brother Shannon. Was not both the minority and majority report of the organization committee tabled at our last convention? And did not the convention refuse to stretch the constitution to take in lumbermen? Let us know who is the Western Federation of Miners. Is it you, the convention of the rank and file? Let us know if the locals, Greenwood, Phoenix, Jerome, McCabe, Moyie, Goldfield, Tonopah, Burke, Kendall, Searchlight, Telluride, Clifton and Grand Forks are still in the Western Federation of Miners. It's so long since I read a Miners' Magazine that I have forgotten.

Let us know, if you can, where there is any controversy in the I. W. U. and where Sherman has any organization, and if he has any organization, why you have forsaken him. This is something that I can't understand, because Sherman is very much put out over the lumbermen 'leaving' him, and now that you have forsaken your old friend, do you think that you could get us back our \$500.00 that I sent him in the 6th of October, a year ago? I think we need it in the defence fund now.

"When are you going to send the charters to the lumbermen, and has the executive board of the Western Federation of Miners more power than the convention? I am very anxious to know this, because by the wording of your letter I'll have to admit that I am in perfect ignorance of the workings of the Western Federation of Miners."

"You say that 'We feel that the interests of the lumber workers and the miners of Montana are identical and that they are practically working for the same employers.' Who do you mean by 'we'? I hope you don't include me, because I know that what you say is false, as the saw mills in Somers are owned by Jim Hill, and I didn't know that Jim owned the mines in Butte. They cut mostly ties in Somers, and I think that they are for trains to run over. At least I never saw such big ones in the mines where I have ever worked. What men are making ties, are making boxes for Armour & Co. of Chicago, and sash and doors. Did you ever see anything like that in the mines of Butte? You ought to feel again and feel hard and quick, because you know as a Shermanite it is your duty to say and promise anything to keep these men out of the Industrial Workers of the World."

"Well, when I find out some more news about railroad ties, boxes, and crates, the relations of your 'warrior' will keep you posted. What further would you like to know on the matter? Let me know and I'll hand the news up for you."

"Fraternally yours,
"Fred W. Heselwood."

[These articles by Word H. Mills, originally published in "American Manhood," published at Texarkana, will be continued from time to time in THE BULLETIN. They will be found to be a valuable contribution to the literature of Industrial Unionism.]

Convention's Action Ignored

In connection with the attitude of the W. F. M. towards the lumber workers of Montana are identical and that they with by Fred W. Heselwood in this issue of The Bulletin, we print the following copy of a letter written by John Stine, financial secretary of Lumbermen's Union No. 384, of Somers, Montana:

"Denver, Colo., Nov. 8, 1907.
"Mr. John Stine, Fin. Sec.,
"Lumbermen's Union No. 384,
"Somers, Montana."

"Dear Sir and Brother:—Yours of November 4th, addressed to Brother Meyer, is at hand, and as Brother Meyer is not at home, I am attending to the work of the organization, I will reply to your query."

"Now, as to the action taken by the Montana State Union in connection with the lumber workers, you state that the same was satisfactory to the Western Federation of Miners, and Brother Shannon as president of the Montana State Union of the Western Federation of Miners, I am sure that the action in behalf of that organization, and the question at issue has been discussed at some length both in the convention of the W. F. M. and by the executive board of the same, while the session and the understanding arrived at was practically that which Brother Shannon made known to your local, that in case the controversy in the I. W. U. would take in the lumber workers in Montana and grant them a charter as a local of the W. F. M. The reason for this action is that we feel that the interests of the lumber workers and the miners of Montana, which is exclusively dealt with practically working for the same employers and the product of the lumber workers is used to a great extent in the industry of the miners, and I would urge that the lumber workers and miners hold their local union together and pursue the same course. In case the controversy is not straightened out, as I stated before, I feel confident that the Western Federation of Miners will seek to ally the lumber workers with them and give them every support possible."

"With best wishes and hoping to hear from you further on this matter, I remain

"Fraternally yours,
"C. E. Mahoney,
"Acting President W. F. M."

In reply to the above General Executive Board Member Heselwood of the I. W. U. has addressed the following open letter to Mr. Mahoney: "Kallispell, Mont., Nov. 20, 1907."

"Dear Sir and Brother: My object in writing to you at

The Question of Wages.

The question whether an increase in wages is or is not for the benefit of the working class is a question which I think is a very important one—appeared a few weeks ago in The Industrial Union Bulletin.

I think every member of the I. W. U. should know whether an increase in wages is or is not for the interest of the working class. But first of all we must consider the meaning of the term 'wages.'

The capitalist class does not hire the workers for the purpose of giving them work, but they hire them for the purpose of obtaining a surplus, from which they can pay their large expenses and besides increase their already enormous capital. They pay the workers merely enough to enable them to produce an surplus the next day. This is called 'wages.' This, together with the surplus, is the product of the labor performed by the workers.

We see, then, that these 'wages' which the workers are receiving for their work is only a part of that which they produce. Product, minus surplus, equals wages.

Now, then, we have the meaning of wages as only a part of the product. The larger that part, the larger the surplus, and the smaller the surplus, to illustrate:

Production, 100, minus wages, 17, equals surplus, 83.

Production, 100, minus wages, 20, equals surplus, 80.

An increase of 3 in wages thus shows a corresponding decrease in surplus. So that high wages means small surplus and low wages means large surplus for the capitalist. The next question is: How are the workers going to get higher wages? Are they able to increase their wages? To this question I have but one answer: It is impossible for them to increase their wages, for the reason that they are at the mercy of the capitalist class, and all that they can receive above the things necessary for the maintenance of their lives (which they must receive or cease to live and produce) can and will be determined not by them, but by their masters, the capitalists.

Only by an organization of the whole working class, based upon the class interest, are they able to increase their wages, because such an organization (and no other) can regulate the supply and demand.

But if they were organized upon those lines and could force the capitalist to relinquish a little surplus, would that be simply a half measure—a reform? Could they not just as well take the whole surplus?

Accordingly, then, we see that the I. W. U. as a revolutionary organization is not organized for the purpose of securing a little more 'wages' for the working class, but for the purpose of

OUR BOOK LIST

Now we give a partial list of books which we are prepared to supply to readers of this paper. As will be seen the list contains many of the books with the contents of which Industrial Unionists should be familiar. They range from light, but instructive pamphlets, to the scientific and philosophical works of Labriola, Morgan and Marx. Any book in the list will be sent, postage paid, on receipt of price, and we ask all members of the organization and readers of this paper to order their books from us.

REMIT PRICE WITH YOUR ORDER

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Capital, Volume II. Marx.....	2.00
The Ancient Law, Volume I. Ward.....	2.00
The Ancient Law, Volume II. Ward.....	2.00
Ancient Society, Morgan.....	1.50
Economic Foundations of Society, Loria.....	1.25
Essays on Materialistic Conception of History, Labriola.....	1.00
Socialism and Philosophy, Labriola.....	1.00
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310 Bush Temple : : CHICAGO, ILL.

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To aid in organizing the work of maintaining the working class in the I. W. U. and disseminating its principles, I hereby pledge One-half of One per cent of my wages per month for a period of 3 months beginning with

and will remit the amount to General Headquarters, 310 Bush Temple, Chicago, on or about the 1st of each succeeding month.

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Rudolph Katz..... Paterson, N. J.
B. H. Williams..... Eureka, Cal.
Wm. Yates..... New Bedford, Mass.

General Headquarters
310 BUSH TEMPLE, CHICAGO

Bernard Shaw Whacks Us

Writing in "Everybody's" on "A Nation of Villagers," G. Bernard Shaw says:

"President Roosevelt cannot realize his dream of making America a real national organism, sovereign over all anti-social powers within its own frontiers, and forcing all men to climb to prosperity instead of rooting for it as hogs root for truffles. Already it is obvious that the President is trying to redeem the United States solely because of materialist assumptions that things can be bettered, or else lie down and die of despair. The Socialists, as voiced by Mr. Upton Sinclair, hope still more desperately that Capitalism will break down, and that the new order of the world will step in and build on the ruins; a very mad hope indeed, because, first, Capitalism is not in the smallest danger of any such breakdown, and suffers much less from temporary crises than it did a century ago, when this discredited prophecy began to be bandied about; and, second, Socialism is only possible as the consummation of successful Capitalism, which, with all its horrors, will have to get worse before they get better. Socialism is the remedy; but Socialism is only possible where Individualism is the individual can see beyond himself and works to perfect his city and his nation instead of to furnish his own house better than his neighbor's. Short of that point Individualism is not Individualism, but Idiotism (a word which Idiots cannot understand), and Idiotism and nothing else is just what is the matter with America to-day."

Address Wanted

Will Joe Feldman, subscriber to The Bulletin, send us his correct address. His paper is now going to "R. F. D. No. 7, Williamsdale, Ohio." This address appears to be wrong, since the paper is not delivered to him.

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Constitutions, in English, per 100.....	\$5.00
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The Value of Stenographic Reports in Labor Conventions

(Continued from Page 1)

only be due to the Industrial Workers of the World. One other will not likely participate in the new convention either, as his record (according to reports from miners in Minnesota) is very shady, in connection with the late W. F. of M. strike in that place. This leaves us with five delegates and no alternates and the convention decided on seven and no one but the convention has power to reduce the number.

Now in regard to being chartered direct from the Western Federation of Miners that is utterly impossible. All amendments to Section 2, Article 1, of the W. F. of M. constitution was outvoted by a good strong majority.

Section 2, Article 1, reads: "The object of this organization shall be to unite various persons working in and around the mines, mills and smelters into one central body."

To prove that you have been ill-advised by people whose main object at present is to keep you out of the Industrial Workers of the World, and that your call for convention is not a fact, but is impossible where it states that you will be directly chartered by the Western Federation of Miners, I will quote from the stenographic report on page 841:

"Secretary Mills: The original motion is: 'This organization shall be known as the Western Federation of Miners, Mining Department Industrial Workers of the World, and shall be composed of all persons working in and around the mines, mills and smelters, or at the local union, and all other persons engaged in occupations dependent upon the mining industry organized into unions paying per capita tax to the Federation. The amendment is: 'The object of the local union.' The proposed amendment makes it read like this: 'This organization shall be known as the Western Federation of Miners, Mining Department Industrial Workers of the World, and shall be composed of persons working in and around the mines, mills and smelters, and all other persons engaged in occupations dependent upon the mining industry organized into unions paying per capita tax to the Western Federation.'"

"Chairman Williams: Now do you thoroughly understand it?"

"E. Colgan, No. 45: How many members does it take to get a call of the house?"

"Chairman Williams: Well, you have already decided on the previous question and let us go to it."

"John McMullen, No. 33: I demand a roll call."

"Chairman Williams: The motion has been put. If you want the amendment vote 'Yes'; if not, vote 'No.' The amendment is to strike out: 'The roll call shall be as follows: Yes, 87 1/2; No, 24 1/2; not voting, J. C. Lowrey.'"

"Chairman Williams: The amendment is lost. The secretary will now read the motion. Now you vote whether you will accept this as an amendment to your constitution or not. If you want to vote for this amendment, you will vote 'Yes'; and if not, you will vote 'No.' A roll call was then taken, resulting as follows: Yes, 83 1/2; No, 17 1/2."

"Chairman Williams: The motion is lost; the secretary will proceed."

The foregoing evidence ought to be sufficient that you will not be chartered direct from the Western Federation headquarters, and if any officer or any of the rank and file in that organization have told you that you could be chartered, they have deceived you for purposes best known to themselves, or the Amalgamated Copper Company.

I now wish to take up what was termed a petition, signed by Willburn and Noll, and as they claimed thirteen others, which claimed to represent 2000 men in Montana. The following is the appeal to Kerman, the acting secretary of the W. F. of M., and brought up in the convention, page 223:

"Mr. James Kerman—Acting Secretary Western Federation of Miners—Denver, Colo. Sir and Bro.: Herewith you will receive thirteen petitions to the convention of the Western Federation of Miners, making application for charters direct or as close affiliation as possible and representing over 2,000 union men. Your petitioners are of the course necessary from the fact of the unmet conditions of the Industrial Workers of the World. A great majority of the signers are now members of the Industrial Workers of the World, (Sherman faction) and will in no wise place themselves under the Trautmann faction."

"Should we be granted charters, this will mean the addition of 4,000 men or more in Western Montana outside of Butte and Anaconda, and will be a big gain for Industrial Unionism."

"Fraternalty yours,"

"W. F. NOLL, President,"

"F. P. WILDER, Secretary,"

"Associated Unions of Montana."

This proposition, which was signed by Noll and Willburn, was defended by McMullen of 83, an advocate of Sherman's, and the gent who booted the second annual convention of the Industrial Workers of the World. Willburn was in the employ of Sherman and had organized Kalispel local only a few days before he wrote the letter to Kerman in the Sherman faction and within a week after I had addressed a meeting of Industrial Workers in Missoula and succeeded in stopping any further per capita tax going to Sherman. Noll is a capitalist and not eligible to membership at any time since the Industrial Workers was first started. The statement that the men would in no wise place themselves in the Trautmann faction is false, as the majority of the workers in Montana did not know whether they belonged to the Sherman or Trautmann faction at the time they were on strike in the month of May in Missoula. Noll himself, together with the president and financial secretary of the I. W. of M. local in Missoula took me to one side and begged of me not to mention the trouble at headquarters; that the men knew nothing of the trouble, and it would not be a good thing to tell them of it while they were on strike. They also told me that 90 per cent of the men would be with me if they knew the truth. I agreed not to mention it while they were on strike if they would assist me after the strike was over to speak before the men. All this they agreed to. In the meantime the men were asking me why I did not address them; why I was not taking more interest in their affairs by being on their executive strike board, etc. In reply to all this I had to make excuses that the board was full; that I was not in on time, etc.

trying my best to keep my agreement with Noll and the two officers. One week after this meeting the strike was over. I went to their meeting, fully expecting to have courteous treatment and an introduction to the men. The president and secretary appeared fair enough, but Noll took the floor and talked about everything from Jerusalem to Missoula, and then pulled out his watch, said the hour was now late and moved to adjourn. It was about 9:30 p. m. I appealed to the men to vote the motion down, which was done, and then got the floor and talked for two hours or more. The result was that Sherman got no more per capita tax in Missoula or elsewhere, as there was a large delegation of men from the surrounding camps in Missoula attending the executive strike committee. Noll, the capitalist, speaks for all the men in Western Montana, when he says they will have nothing to do with Trautmann and at the same time says that they know nothing about the trouble at headquarters. The stenographic report, and find the recommendation of the committee on organization, re-petitions of Montana lumber workers. The resolution is No. 50.

The majority report reads: "To the officers and delegates of the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the Western Federation of Miners, your committee on organization, beg leave to submit the following report on resolution No. 50: Whereas, the lumber workers of Montana are depending directly on the miners for a living; and whereas, the affairs of the Industrial Workers of the World are in such a state of confusion that they are unable to do so; therefore, we, your committee on organization, recommend that the lumber workers of Montana be given direct charters from the Western Federation of Miners; and that the Industrial Workers of the World be free from all factional fights and satisfactorily settled, when, in our opinion, they should be transferred into their respective departments."

"W. T. QUINN, No. 144,"

"E. D. MOORE, No. 129,"

"J. W. SHANER, No. 229,"

"JOE REILLY, No. 1,"

"Secretary Shannon: The report of the minority is as follows:

"To the officers and delegates of the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the Western Federation of Miners: your committee on organization, submit a minority report on resolution No. 50, and application for charter from the lumber workers of Montana."

Whereas, the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the Western Federation of Miners has refused to amend the constitution so as to grant charters to other industries;

"Therefore, we recommend that the lumber workers of Montana be given a charter to Wm. E. Trautmann, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago, and become locals of the Industrial Workers of the World."

"Yours respectfully,"

"ROY COOK,"

"H. L. LITTLE,"

"CHAR BUNTING,"

"John McMullen, No. 33: I offer the motion that we concur in the recommendations of the majority of the committee on organization."

"J. F. Hutchinson (member Executive Board): I move as a substitute that we adopt the minority report."

"J. C. Williams, No. 39: I move that the entire matter be laid on the table. Motion seconded."

"Joe Shannon, No. 1: Will that kill the two motions?"

"Acting President Mahoney: It will. The motion to lay on the table was then put and declared carried."

Before taking up any more of the stenographic report, I wish to draw your attention to the whereas and recommendation of the majority report on resolution 50, even though the whole matter was tabled and dropped, by which action the lumber workers were barred from joining the Mining Department. The majority report says that the lumber workers in Montana are depending directly on the miners for a living. I contend that this is untrue. Some of the lumber camps may furnish lumber and timber for the mines, but even that admission does not pertain to the lumber camps. The camps in Flathead county have nothing to do with furnishing Butte with timber, neither is the local which Noll belongs to in Missoula a lumbermen's local. It is a mixed local, and has men who furnish the steel rails and cars for the lumber camps. The camps in Flathead county have nothing to do with furnishing Butte with timber, neither is the local which Noll belongs to in Missoula a lumbermen's local. It is a mixed local, and has men who furnish the steel rails and cars for the lumber camps. The camps in Flathead county have nothing to do with furnishing Butte with timber, neither is the local which Noll belongs to in Missoula a lumbermen's local. It is a mixed local, and has men who furnish the steel rails and cars for the lumber camps.

Whereas, Fellow workers Preston and Smith of Goldfield, Nevada, are in duress, helpless victims of the systematic oppression of the blood-thirsty Citizens' Alliance Association, of aforesaid place, in that they have been convicted through perjured testimony, and

Whereas, We consider it the duty of every loyal and fair minded worker to man to protest against this outrageous and undignified trial, and show by a determined and united front that we stand ever ready to denounce and, if possible, remedy all such class conscious machinations against struggling, downtrodden wage slaves; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, "Greenwood Miners' Union," No. 22, W. F. M., extend our heartfelt sympathy to Bros. Preston and Smith, the afflicted and helpless burn offerings of the sacrificial orgies of a blood-thirsty capitalist brood of vampires, who fatten on the life blood of the long suffering toiler; and be it further

Resolved, That we call upon all organized labor to join with us in an insistent demand for a new trial, we believing that a fair, impartial and unprejudiced retrial can only result in the complete exoneration and honorable acquittal of the brothers now incarcerated in the foul and noisome dungeon of the State bastille; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the "Miners' Magazine," "The Lumberman," and "Industrial Union Bulletin."

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

Bertram de Wiele,

J. Koolmar,

(Seal.) Committee.

Greenwood, B. C., Nov. 16, 1907.

It was stated in some of the Chicago papers some days ago that the boundary mining camps had gone back to the old scale of wages, and I want to refute this statement as being a false report. We have not gone back to the old scale, neither do we intend to. We ask that you publish this statement in your paper.

R. A. Matheson,

Sec'y Greenwood Miners' Union No. 22.

And that we submit all our actions to the referendum of the Western Federation of Miners."

"Chairman Davidson: All those in favor of the clause which has just been read vote 'Yes'; and those opposed will vote 'No.' The secretary will call the roll."

Shannon, Robinson, Liggerman, Flynn, Lowrey, Rordan, Mitchell, Carra, Healewood, Nyund, Casey, Berry, Ryan, Rawlins, Robinson, Galloway, Bunting, Little, Cook, Llenora, St. John and others. Total, 114. "No, 29 1/2."

Shannon not only voted in favor of the Western Federation of Miners affiliating with the Trautmann faction, but he voted against holding the proposed convention in Chicago. I mention this because of the fact that Shannon is organizing unions which can only be due to the I. W. W. and that he is not living up to the principles that he advocated in the Denver convention, and I contend that nothing has transpired that could in any way have honestly changed his mind, but that several things have occurred which should have tended to strengthen his opinions in regard to the Industrial Workers of the World; namely, a harmonious convention of sixty delegates at the third annual; the starting of the Industrial Workers in Great Britain; the sending of a delegate to the International Socialist congress at Germany; the printing of the stenographic report of the last convention; the establishment of the Weekly Industrial Union Bulletin; and, mainly, the steady and clean growth of the organization.

The vote occurred on O'Byrne's amendment on page 788. Eighty-nine votes were polled against the proposed convention, Shannon polling the first vote against. McMullen also voted against the proposed convention, but not for the same reasons as the other delegates. I voted against it because I did not believe in starting another Industrial Workers of the World, dual to the one we now have. McMullen voted against it because he does not believe in industrial unionism as laid down by the preamble and manifest of the organization; does not, in fact, believe in it at all. It is this vote of McMullen that brands him as a labor fakir, as he took hundreds of dollars from the rank and file of the W. F. of M., to misrepresent them at the second annual convention of the I. W. W. He bolted that convention and was the general advisor of Sherman in Mahoney's place; he was appointed by Mahoney and paid by the rank and file of the W. F. of M. for weeks after the members of the executive board were slugged by Sherman's Pinkertons. McMullen further believes in making contracts with the master class and living up to them—a policy which has been opposed by the W. F. of M. for the past ten years. Any one who wishes to refer to his speech can turn to page 307 and there you will find what he believes in. He is yet valuable to the masters by advising Montana lumbermen's unions and trying to keep them from their true place. The Bulletin cannot afford to waste more space on him. He has cost the Industrial Workers too much money, and he has used as much proof as possible to try and enlighten you, and believe that I have proved beyond the shadow of a doubt; that you never had to leave the Industrial Workers of the world to become affiliated with the Montana State Union; that there will be no new industrial movement except as dual to the I. W. W. that now exists; that you cannot be chartered by the Western Federation of Miners; that there are no factions in the W. F. of M.; that you have been misled into believing something which is not true by men whose object is other than building up a great industrial movement that will some day be the means of emancipating the working class."

"Think for thyself one good thought is better than a thousand gathered from fields by others sown."

Greenwood Miners' Resolutions

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R. A. Matheson,

Sec'y Greenwood Miners' Union No. 22.

Experience of A Stenographer Seeking Work

If there is a real man in Chicago who wants to employ a stenographer just to work for him, Miss Julia C. Dunkirk, 4200 Berkeley avenue, is ready to hear his terms.

But no triflers need apply; Miss Dunkirk has seen enough of them. She wants work, not admiration; wages and not sympathy.

First, this young woman, who came to Chicago a few days ago from Indianapolis, went out herself in search of a true man. She couldn't find him. Today she gives the man a chance to come to her, through the following notice:

SITUATION WANTED—I want to be somebody's stenographer or bookkeeper, not his sweetheart. I have been in Chicago three days answering want ads and I've had more chances to be "somebody's darling" than I ever knew extended. Let us suppose I am a girl who needs help and would rather have a girl attending to business than making good even I I don't like to hear from him. I already have a sweetheart of my own. Address J. C. D., Apartment 2, 4200 Berkeley avenue.

"I've made the round of the offices that advertise for stenographers," declared Miss Dunkirk, "and met more bald-headed old sinners than I ever knew lived. My experiences were the same everywhere; 'twas a taste for lobsters and wine that was more necessary than an ability to do office work."

"I don't want to go back home, though, until I have thoroughly satisfied myself that there isn't even one man in Chicago who wants an able stenographer just because she is able."

"First, I went in up that tall building with the funny name. Oh, yes, Monadnock, that's it. I walked into the office of a man who had advertised for a competent stenographer. I knew that I could report a meeting of a woman's aid society as proof of my speed, and I had taken dictation from a man who stuttered in two languages, and I knew I was patient."

"I'm answering an advertisement for a stenographer, I told the office boy. He disappeared, and all I got of the conversation inside was the reply, 'Yes, sir, she's a corker.'"

"Now, I don't know what a 'corker' is, but I was ushered into the office. A bald-headed man, who really looked nice, asked me to be seated. I thought he would smile into such a vacuum of mouth that the roof of his head would cave in."

"Stenographer, I presume?" he began.

"Yes, sir," I replied.

"Do you live with your people?" he asked.

"My people are not in the city—I am alone," I said.

"How interesting," he said. "I am very much alone myself. My wife doesn't care to go out, doesn't care for theaters or late suppers, and I have a lot of time at my disposal."

"But I'm a stenographer," I ventured, "and not a gentleman's maid."

"Spurred," he said, "I like it. You have a pretty hand," and he reached out to take it.

"I went to twelve places in response to advertisements for a capable stenographer," declared Miss Dunkirk today, waiting in her apartments for an honest man to appear and identify himself.

"One man was a physician in the Reliance Building. He took me into a private office and told me that our lunch hours would be at the same time; that he was married, but that would not make any difference, and that I must not be affectionate should his wife appear at the office. He was a little shriveled, just big enough to make a good-sized watch charm."

"Then I went to an automobile company on Michigan avenue. Here I was told that part of my duties would consist in helping to demonstrate machines to prospective customers. The man I discovered, that I must be a jolly fellow to the customer, ride around town with him, go to the theater and eat lobster—always lobsters. After the machine was sold I could turn the man down or not."

"In a real estate office a man pulled up a chair close to me, put his hand on my arm and smirked. 'You are a dear little girl,' he said, 'I'm sure we'll like each other.' It really made me laugh to see him."

"It looks to me as if the man who gets tired of his wife is likely to get tired of his stenographer; I want a permanent job."

"I used to hear that Chicago was such a busy place. I thought that business men probably had business to attend to, but it seems that most of the time of some of them is taken up with entertaining stenographers."

"I had an experience like this in one place:

"Really, I suppose it was foolish of me to be angry with this man. He was so insignificant! He leered and lisped, and I should have gone out before he began to talk if I could have done so without making myself appear ridiculous."

"Ah, so you really want to be my stenographer," he opened. "I need a stenographer, and a decidedly pretty one, you know. It makes the office look so much better, you know."

"I thought a stenographer was hired to write letters and not to furnish color for a landlady. I let him have the whole rest, however."

"Last stenographer I had, you know, was a decidedly clever girl, you know. Best company around a lobster I ever saw, you know, and so awfully witty. All my friends came around, pretending that they wanted to see things. But they only advertised. I hope I will get a place with some man who is too busy to care about lobsters and theaters."

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Send your subscription for **THE INDUSTRIAL UNION BULLETIN** to WM. E. TRAUTMANN, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill., and fill out this blank.

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PREAMBLE OF THE I. W. W.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

The rapid gathering of wealth and the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands make the trades union unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class, because the trade unions foster a state of things which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. The trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These sad conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making injury to one an injury to all.

Therefore, without endorsing or desiring endorsement of any political party, we unite under the following constitution.

(Copy of Constitution Sent on Application.)

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